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Swede Hollow Residents, 1873-1885. Part 2

James E. Erickson¹

Swede Hollow Residents, 1873-1885 (continued)

The following list includes single individuals identified only by name, age, and place of birth in either the 1880 or 1885 census records:

---?, Augustus	25	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 25, #182
---?, Thilda	19	F	Swed	1885 Census, W5, p. 21, #146
Almquist, John	22	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 24, #176
Anderson, ---?	21	F	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 25, #178
Anderson, ---?	50	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #159
Anderson, Adolf	26	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #57
Anderson, August	30	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 24, #178
Anderson, August	29	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #66
Anderson, Carl	19	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 22, #162
Anderson, Chas.	33	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #65
Anderson, Göran	40	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 23, #163
Anderson, Gustaf	30	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #57
Anderson, Jannes	27	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #49
Anderson, John	22	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED18, p. 8, #60
Anderson, John	22	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #63
Anderson, Lars	23	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 22, #162
Anderson, Lewis	22	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #157
Anderson, M.	50	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #159
Anderson, O. E.	20	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 24, #170
Anderson, Peter	50	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #48
Anderson, Sv.	24	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 25, #178
Anderson, Swan	21	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #169
Barret, L.	22	M	Pol	1885 Census, W5, #76
Bengtson, John	40	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #49
Bengtson, O. P.	30	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #154
Bergquist, L. M.	25	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 24, #176
Bloom, Gustaf	27	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #57
Boman, Carl	29	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #181
Boo, John Alfred	25	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #151
Boo, Swan Aug.	28	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #151
Burlin, Pet.	25	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 24, #175

¹ This research project was supported, in part, by a stipend from the Swedish Emigrant Institute (*Svenska Emigrantinstitutet*), which enabled me to do research at SEI in Växjö, Sweden, in May and June of 2000.

Carlson, Carl	40	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 22, #162
Carlson, Emma	20	F	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #154
Carlson, John	24	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #71
Dane, John	50	M	Denm	1880 Census, ED19, p. 23, #167
Danielson, Marie	62	F	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #173
Davidson, A. T.	23	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 24, #173
Emery, B. C.	16	M	Mass	1885 Census, W5, #69
Erickson, A. G.	30	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 23, #165
Erickson, Andrew	40	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 23, #165
Erickson, Carl	26	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #164
Erickson, F. O.	24	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 24, #172
Erickson, Gustaf	31	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 23, #169
Erickson, Johan	29	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #156
Erickson, John	40	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #45
Evinsky, Rostha	20	F	Germ	1885 Census, W5, #69
Floberg(?), J.	50	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 25, #180
Flood, Chas.	23	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #48
Frisk, Nels			Swed	1885 Census, W5, #155
Green, August	21	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #45
Guard, Chas.	22	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #153
Gustafson, Alfred	25	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED18, p. 8, #63
Gustafson, John	22	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #157
Gustafson, L. J.	23	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 24, #177
Hagstrom, A.	45	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 23, #168
Hanson, H.	24	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 25, #178
Hanson, Nels	17	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #157
Hellstrom, Anders	21	M	Minn	1880 Census, ED19, p. 23, #163
Hessell, L. C.	25	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #67
Hokanson, Hoka	19	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #48
Hokanson, Ivar	21	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #174
Hulting, John	40	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #50
Johanson, Frank	21	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 24, #176
Johnson, Alfred	21	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED18, p. 8, #62
Johnson, Andrew	25	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #48
Johnson, Andrew	20	M	Denm	1885 Census, W5, #183
Johnson, Anna	45	F	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 25, #183
Johnson, Anna	20	F	Swed	1885 Census, W5, p. 21, #146
Johnson, Axel	37	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #173
Johnson, Bengt	33	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 25, #179
Johnson, C. A.	22	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 23, #169
Johnson, Carl N.	23	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #173
Johnson, Chas.	20	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, p. 21, #146
Johnson, Chas.	41	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #45
Johnson, Christian	23	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, p. 21, #146
Johnson, Frank	28	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #169
Johnson, John	30	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #50

Johnson, Martin	26	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, p. 21, #146
Johnson, Ole	22	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 25, #186
Johnson, Olof	24	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 25, #179
Johnson, Olof	27	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #149
Johnson, Oscar	32	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #45
Jonason, A. T.	21	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 24, #173
Kling, John	28	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #153
Larson, Aaron	45	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 22, #162
Larson, ---?	26	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #164
Larson, Bengt	23	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 23, #163
Larson, Chas.	23	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #150
Larson, Fredrik	17	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #149
Larson, Joh.	17	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 25, #185
Larson, John	25	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 25, #185
Larson, Lenart	23	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 22, #162
Larson, Matt	21	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #67
Larson, Olai	17	M	Norw	1880 Census, ED19, p. 23, #166
Larson, Peter	27	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 24, #176
Larson, Peter	27	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #67
Liden, Mary	28	F	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 23, #162
Lindberg, Gustaf G.	27	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #172
Lindblom, John	20	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #45
Lindstrom, Louis	18	M	Minn	1880 Census, ED19, p. 25, #178
Lindwall, Chas.	26	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #63
Lundberg, T. P.	35	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 24, #176
Lundgren, Emil	19	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #48
Lundgren, John	28	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #48
Lundin, Gustaf	40	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #48
Lundquist, Ch.	50	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 23, #166
Malmquist, Chas.	25	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #66
Martinson, Andrew	26	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED18, p. 8, #60
Martinson, Nels	23	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 24, #178
Melander, John	17	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #151
Miller, Hans	30	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #57
Monson, John	27	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 24, #178
Monson, T.(?)	36	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 25, #185
Moren, Olof	40	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, p. 21, #147
Nelson, ---?	24	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 24, #172
Nelson, Ellika	72	F	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 23, #169
Nelson, Mons	26	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED18, p. 8, #60
Nelson, N.	50	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #182
Nelson, Nels	23	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 26, #187
Nordblad, W.			Swed	1885 Census, W5, #155
Nyquist, Anders	25	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, p. 21, #147
Olson, Per	36	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #152
Olson, S. M.	26	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #67

Osterberg, Johan	21	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 23, #166
Paulson, Hannah	51	F	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 24, #175
Person, Aug.	20	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 24, #170
Person, Nels	27	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #170
Person, W.	30	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #169
Peterson, August	31	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #48
Peterson, Marten	23	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED18, p. 8, #62
Peterson, Nels	18	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED18, p. 8, #62
Peterson, P. O.	20	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 23, #168
Peterson, Peter	25	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #66
Renton, Peter	30	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #67
Runden, Nels	40	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #150
Sanberg, Andrew	25	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #71
Sandberg, Gust A.	21	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #48
Soderberg, Alfred	22	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #49
Soderquist, August	24	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #164
Stenberg, O. P.	25	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 23, #168
Stenberg, E. P.	23	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 23, #168
Stensrud, O. A.	21	M	Norw	1885 Census, W5, #49
Strom, Nels	25	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 26, #187
Swanson, Andrew	23	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED18, p. 8, #63
Swanson, Clara	15	F	Illinois	1885 Census, W5, #166
Swanson, Gustav	22	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED18, p. 8, #63
Swanson, N. G.	28	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #49
Swanstrom, Carl	35	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #182
Swartz, Anders	45	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #181
Swenson, John	45	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #152
Tuesdhaska, Mary	20	F	Pol	1885 Census, W5, #77
Waliak, Lizzie	18	M	Germ	1885 Census, W5, #69
Waliak, Mary	20	M	Germ	1885 Census, W5, #69
Welin, E. A.	28	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 24, #170
Westman, Chas.	21	M	Swed	1885 Census, W5, #66
Wilhelm, A.	24	M	Swed	1880 Census, ED19, p. 23, #168

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Occupations of Swede Hollow Residents

The stereotype of Swedes that emerged during their tenure of residency in Swede Hollow is that of destitute and unskilled individuals who, through hard work and perseverance, were able to pull themselves up by their bootstraps, move out of the hollow, and become full-fledged members of Swedish society on St. Paul's east side. Occupational data gathered from both Swedish and American sources certainly corroborate the notion that these residents were unskilled.

The data from Swedish sources, which are summarized in table 1, present a picture of an immigrant population with a preponderance of unskilled individuals (e.g., laborers, workers, farm hands, apprentices, and maids) and/or economically disadvantaged individuals (e.g., tenant farmers/crofters and their sons, retired farmers and soldiers, and widows). The lone, female teacher (*lärarinna*) is an exception to this picture.

Table 1. Occupations of Swede Hollow residents, 1873-1885, based on data taken from Swedish records, i.e., the database EMIBAS and/or the CD-EMIGRANTEN. Since the occupations of many immigrants were not identified in these records, the sample size (N = 58) is rather small.

Occupation		Number of Individuals
Swedish term	English translation	
<i>arbetare</i>	laborer, worker	3
<i>arbetskarl</i>	workman	2
<i>arrendator</i>	farmer, tenant farmer	1
<i>backstugusittare</i>	crofter	1
<i>bergslagsarbetare</i>	mining district laborer/worker	1
<i>brukare</i>	tenant (farmer), lease holder	1
<i>dräng</i>	farm hand	10
<i>eldare</i>	stoker, fireman	1
<i>husman</i>	crofter	1
<i>inhyses</i>	tenant	1
<i>inhyseson</i>	tenant's son	1
<i>lärarinna</i>	(female) teacher	1
<i>muraregesäll</i>	bricklayer's apprentice	1
<i>murarearbetare</i>	bricklayer's laborer	1
<i>målare</i>	painter	2
<i>piga</i>	maid, servant	4
<i>skomakaregesäll</i>	shoemaker's apprentice	1
<i>skräddare</i>	tailor	3
<i>skräddaregesäll</i>	tailor's apprentice	1
<i>smedlärning</i>	(black) smith's apprentice	2
<i>soldat</i>	soldier	2
<i>stenhuggare</i>	stonemason	1
<i>sågare</i>	sawyer	1
<i>tjänstflicka</i>	maid, servant (girl)	1
<i>torpare</i>	crofter	4
<i>f.d. torpare</i>	the former crofter	1
<i>undantagsägare</i>	retired farmer	1
<i>åbo</i>	farm tenant with fixity of tenure	1
<i>åboson</i>	son of <i>åbo</i>	1
<i>ägare</i>	owner, proprietor	5
<i>änka</i>	widow	1

Data regarding occupations taken from a single American source (St. Paul City Directories), which are summarized in table 2, are consistent with the data from Swedish sources presented in table 1. Although many of the occupations listed in table 2 are clearly skilled, albeit still blue-collar (e.g. blacksmith, bricklayer, carpenter, and plumber), 75% (107/143) of the individuals are simply considered "laborers."

Table 2. Occupations of Swede Hollow residents, 1873-1880, based on data taken from St. Paul City Directories.

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Number</i>
blacksmith	1	milkman	1
bricklayer	1	painter	3
car cleaner/repairer	1	plasterer/lather	1
car driver	1	plumber/painter/machinist	1
carpenter	7	porter	1
clerk	2	printer	2
cutter	1	shoemaker	2
draughtsman	1	stonemason	2
fireman	2	tailor	2
helper	1	teamster	2
laborer	107	woodworker	1

Ethnicity of Swede Hollow Residents

It is evident from the data summarized in table 3 that Swede Hollow was appropriately named. Of the 800 Swede Hollow residents identified in this study,² fully 75% (602/800) were born in Sweden. If you add all of the children born in North America to parents who were both Swedes, the percentage of Swede Hollow residents with Swedish ancestry increases to 87% (692/800).³ And if you add all of the children born in the United States to couples in which at least one parent was a Swede, the percentage changes to 88% (704/800).⁴ Combining Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, and their offspring together results in a number of 735/800 or 92% of Swede Hollow residents claiming Scandinavian ancestry during the thirteen-year period from 1873-1885.

² The total of 800 comes from the two lists—those individuals and/or families positively identified in EMIBAS, EMIGRANTEN, and/or American census records (see pp. 152-176) and single individuals known only by name, age and place of birth (pp. 211-214)—published in parts 1 and 2 of this article.

³ The total number of such children is 90 (88 were born in Minnesota; 1 in Canada; and 1 in New York).

⁴ The total number of such children is 12 (8 had one Swedish and one Norwegian parent; 2 had one Swedish and one Danish parent; and 2 had one Swedish parent and one parent from New York).

Table 3. Country or state of origin of Swede Hollow residents, 1873-1885, arranged in order from highest to lowest percent of total population (N = 800).

<i>Country or State of Origin</i>	<i>Number of Individuals</i>	<i>Percent of Total Population (%)</i>
Sweden	602	75.3
Minnesota	108	13.5
Norway	24	3.0
Poland	20	2.5
New York	11	1.4
Ireland	9	1.1
Denmark	7	0.9
Germany	7	0.9
Illinois	4	0.5
Canada	3	0.4
Unknown	2	0.3
Massachusetts	1	0.1
New Jersey	1	0.1
Wisconsin	1	0.1

Demography of Swede Hollow

One final goal of this study was to delineate some population characteristics for the community living in Swede Hollow during the study period 1873-1885. While recognizing the inherent problems/weaknesses associated with the following analysis (e.g., strength of methodology, reasonableness of assumptions, accuracy of data, etc.), I felt that it was important to summarize the demographic information that I had accumulated. What follows, therefore, is my first attempt to establish a basic estimate of population size for Swede Hollow. Remember that my definition of Swede Hollow includes the area from East 6th Street north to the intersection of Minnehaha Avenue and Payne Avenue on the north.⁵

To begin with, data from St. Paul City Directories were compiled to produce a basic growth curve for this population over the thirteen-year period 1873-1885 (see the gray area of the bars on figure 5). The classic "J-shaped" growth curve implied in figure 5 suggests that population growth in Swede Hollow during this time period was exponential. It must be kept in mind, however, that these data only include heads of households (including widows), working adult children living at home, and adult boarders. Wives, young children, and retirees are not included. Thus, the gray area of the bars on figure 5

⁵ James E. Erickson, "Swede Hollow Residents, 1873-1885. Part 1" *Swedish American Genealogist* (September 2002): 145.

reflects the size of the working adult population, not the total population, in Swede Hollow during the study period.

The most obvious and reliable source of information on the total number of individuals in a particular location would, of course, be a federal or state census. Unfortunately, federal and state census enumerators generally did not list Swede Hollow as an address on their forms. As such, accurately and unambiguously locating specific Swede Hollow residents in such records has proved difficult and the goal of establishing total population size directly from census records has proved elusive. Therefore, I decided to make two different indirect estimates.

One way to estimate total population size is to calculate the average number of individuals per dwelling and multiply that value times the total number of dwellings. An analysis of a subset of data from the 1880 U.S. Census—a portion of Enumeration District 19 in whose accuracy I have great confidence—provided the first piece of information. I determined that a total of 186 individuals (husbands, wives, children, and boarders) lived in 28 dwellings. This yields an average of approximately 6.6 individuals per dwelling in 1880.

The second piece of information—the total number of dwellings (shanties) in Swede Hollow—was gleaned from two different insurance maps (see figures 3 and 4 in part 1 of this article). Unfortunately, both maps were drawn at the turn of the century and, therefore, they represent Swede Hollow fifteen years after the end of my study period (i.e., 1885) and two decades after the enumeration of the 1880 census, from which I took data to estimate the average number of individuals per dwelling. In spite of the obvious problems associated with making incorrect assumptions and mixing data from different decades, the maps still provided the best available information.

The Rascher Insurance Map (1891; revised 1901) illustrates 69 dwellings on the east side of Phalen Creek north of East 7th Street, 36 dwellings on the west side of Phalen Creek north of East 7th Street; and 17 dwellings on the east side of Phalen Creek between East 6th Street and East 7th Street, for a total of 122 dwellings in Swede Hollow in 1901.

The Sanborn Fire Insurance map (1903) illustrates 55 dwellings on the east side of Phalen Creek north of East 7th Street, 36 dwellings on the west side of Phalen Creek north of East 7th Street; and 18 dwellings on the east side of Phalen Creek between East 6th Street and East 7th Street, for a total of 109 dwellings in Swede Hollow in 1903.

Combining the estimate on the average number of individuals per dwelling in 1880 (i.e., 6.64) with the total number of dwellings in 1901 and 1903 (i.e., 122 and 109, respectively) results in a preliminary, albeit rough, estimate of 724 to 810 individuals living in Swede Hollow at the turn of the century.

A second way to estimate total population size (and also to “check” the reasonableness of my first estimate) is to estimate the number of women and children living in one dwelling as a percent of the total number of individuals in the dwelling. Using the same subset of data from the 1880 U.S. Census noted above, I calculated that women and children (i.e., those individuals who are not listed in the St. Paul city directories) comprised roughly 52% of all individuals living in one dwelling in 1880. By multiplying that percentage times the

number of Swede Hollow working adults (i.e., heads of households, working adult children, and boarders) listed in any given city directory, I arrived at annual estimates for the number of women and children in Swede Hollow. Figure 5, which combines the actual number of working adults (gray portion of bars) with the estimated number of women and children (white portion of bars), provides a graphic representation of annual total Swede Hollow population size for the time period 1873-1885. The highest total population size estimate derived by this method, i.e., 992 in 1884-85, is 22.5% higher than the value of 810 for 1900 obtained by the first method.

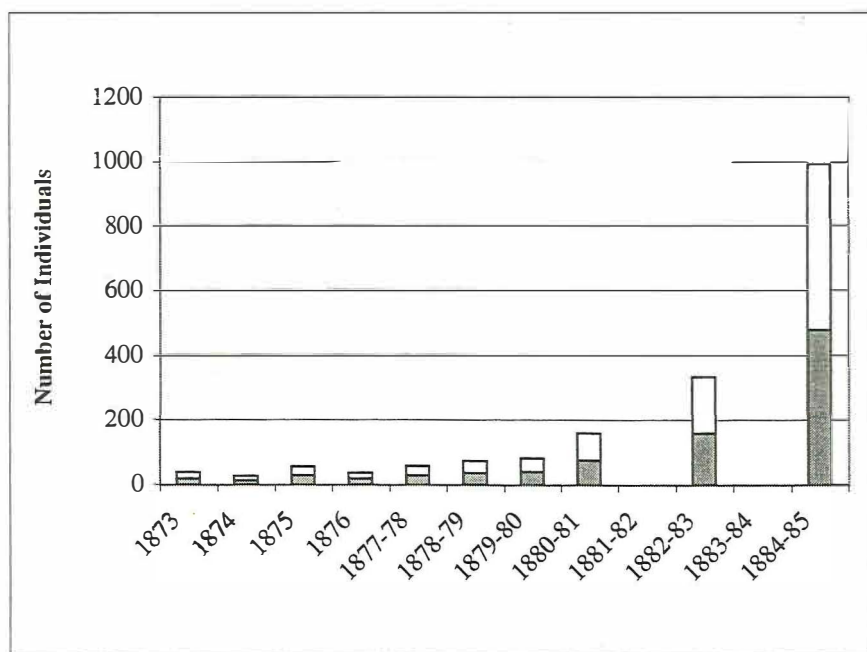


Figure 5. Swede Hollow population size 1873-1885. *Gray* indicates the actual number of working adults listed in St. Paul city directories; *white* indicates the estimated number of women and children. See text for details.